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RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT
ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Editor*

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EDITORIAL

Research in child development has a long history in the United States. Until recently, however, studies were carried on within different disciplines in almost complete isolation from each other. Specialists in the separate fields of prenatal development, physical growth, dental development, physiology and endocrinology, nutrition, mental growth, and development under social influences were largely unaware of each other's work and its possible bearing upon their own research.

In 1933 was founded the Society for Research in Child Development with the central purpose of bringing together into one organization specialists from all the various fields engaged in child study. Included among these were those persons at work upon the social factors in the behavior of the child in the family, the play group, the school, and other groups and institutions.

At the first biennial meeting of the Society in 1934 this field of sociological interest was represented on the program and the papers presented were published in THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, October 1935, under the general title "Child Development and Sociological Research," with Walter C. Reckless as editor.

In preparation for the second biennial meeting of the Society held October 30 to November 1, 1936, it was decided to unite the cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and sociologists specializing in child study into one group to be known as the field of personality and culture, and to organize its program on the subject of "The

Social and Cultural Environment of the Child," with special attention to those research findings of interest to workers in the other fields of child study.

Research from the standpoint of personality and culture is the most recent field of study in child development. The papers appearing in this issue attempt in a preliminary way to review the literature, to present standpoints and methods, and to indicate the problems for future research.

In only two phases of child behavior under social influences have there been systematic and intensive studies of child behavior under social influences. The juvenile delinquent has been studied in his ecological distributions, his group relationships, and his cultural patterning. Increasing attention is being given to the observational method of studying the small child in the laboratory in variable social situations.

Other aspects of child development in the cultural setting merit equally intensive treatment by anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists. Among these are age periods of infancy, childhood, adolescence, and youth, the child and his age group, the child at various stages of development in its participation in the family, the school, the church, industry, and government. Much is to be gained by each specialist working upon his own problem in the perspective of the studies of other workers in related fields. One value of *The Child in America* by W. I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas was its service to the orientation of the workers within each discipline to the place of their research in the larger field of child study. The meetings and the publications of the Society for Research in Child Development now contribute to this same function.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

THE IMPACT OF ENVIRONMENT ON THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

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The purpose of this symposium is, I understand, to focus attention on the process of interaction between child and environment with a view to clarifying our conception of how the environment actually impinges on the growing child and how the direct impact of environmental influence can be observed and measured. The fact that a child's behavior is in many respects predetermined by the kind of environment in which he is born and reared is no longer questioned. We know that a child of "poor white" parentage growing up in the isolated mountain regions of Kentucky will acquire a distinctly different set of social and cultural patterns from those of Princess Elizabeth, heir presumptive to the British throne. We know that changes in a child's behavior are likely to result from changes in his environment. We know, in general, that certain types of environment tend to produce certain kinds of behavior, that social maladjustment, for example, is closely related to unfavorable home and community influences. But while we are convinced of the fact of environmental influence, our knowledge of the process by which environmental factors operate is more inferential than conclusive and we are as yet unable to segregate with any degree of precision the specific environmental influences that contribute to the formation of particular behavior patterns.

The perspective from which the problem is considered in this paper is sociological in the sense that we are dealing with the influence of social environment (persons, institutions, neighborhoods, communities, nonmaterial culture) on patterns of behavior toward persons and toward social situations rather than that the discussion is limited to sociological research in the strict sense of the term. The

preschool period has been selected for special consideration because of the conspicuous need for more intensive study of the influence of nonmaterial culture on the social development of the young child. Although the preschool child has been the dominant focus of attention in child-development research during the past ten years, it is difficult to find, in published reports of research, direct attacks upon the problem of environmental influence on the sociocultural aspects of behavior. The few studies of preschool children that have been concerned directly with relating environment to behavior have dealt with such questions as the effect of nursery-school experience on intelligence and physical status, the effect of different kinds of material stimuli on behavior, sociopsychological traits of children representing opposite extremes of socio-economic status, the effect of environment on intelligence and vocabulary tests, personality traits of oldest, youngest, middle, and only children.

The scarcity of attempts to relate environment of sociocultural patterns of behavior in the young child is not surprising when we consider that sociologists and anthropologists, those preëminently interested in these aspects of development, have not been actively involved in the preschool movement. Dorothy Swaine Thomas is probably the outstanding contributor to sociological research in child development at the preschool level whose background of training was in the social sciences. Anthropologists have until recently been little concerned with the American child but have contributed highly illuminating comparative findings concerning the behavior of young children in primitive societies. The inaccessibility of most preschool children for purposes of research is a second factor accounting for the scarcity of environmental studies. The home, the environment in which the young child spends his time predominantly and which is undoubtedly the source of the most potent influences, has been for the most part, and for obvious reasons, barred to research and only a small proportion of the total preschool population is as yet enrolled in nursery schools, kindergartens, or organized play groups. A third important contributing factor is the

definite limitation of methods of research and sources of information at the preschool age. The child's undeveloped powers of understanding and verbal expression preclude the use of many methods that are applicable to older children and adults, as, for example, tests, questionnaires, and direct reports from the subject himself. If we exclude mechanical aids to observation, such as motion pictures, which are extremely valuable in the laboratory but impractical in any extensive study of groups of children in life situations, we must rely either on direct observation of the young child under natural life conditions or controlled experimental conditions, or on second-, third-, or fourth-hand information about the child obtained from those who know him most intimately.

Sociological research on young children has been confined almost exclusively to nursery schools, kindergartens, and play groups, partly because of the difficulty of gaining access to the home and partly because of the exceptionally favorable research conditions afforded outside the home. Since the crux of our problem, however, in so far as the preschool child is concerned, undoubtedly lies in parent-child, child-sibling, and other intrafamily interaction, we need to devise ways of observing firsthand the process of interaction between the child and his family group. Direct observations have been made in the home both by impartial outsiders and by persons unrelated to the child living in the home environment, but further exploration of this approach is needed. The outlook for training parents to make consistent, detailed, and objective observations of their own children is not, on the whole, hopeful, but we can undoubtedly progress further in this direction than we have thus far. The solution suggested by Dr. Dollard in his "research mother" technique has been explored to a considerable extent by workers in the field of child development but with rather uniformly discouraging results.[1] It has the disadvantage of being limited to intelligent, emotionally stable mothers with sufficient time to make observa-

[1] John Dollard, "A Method for the Sociological Study of Infancy and Preschool Childhood," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, October 1935, pp. 88–97.

tions, and with training in the process of observation as well as in understanding of child behavior. The further difficulty of combining observation with participation in the child's activities has been demonstrated. The inability of most mothers to report objectively on the behavior of their own children was pointed out by Dr. Laws some years ago in a study of parent-child relationships in which both parents and outside observers (neighbors and friends of the family) rated the children on the same kinds of behavior.[2] Thirty-six per cent of the parents gave a higher average rating on all the responses of the child than was given by the observers. Parents are obviously ruled out as sources of information concerning their own relationship with the children. While parents, by and large, are not to be counted on for consistent continuous recording of specific aspects of the child's behavior, they may well make contributions which are both significant and reliable by reporting the environmental setting (as they see it) of new patterns of behavior noted in the child.

Although direct attacks upon the problem of the relationship between environment and the sociocultural phases of development in the preschool child are practically nonexistent, important contributions have been made by indirect approaches. The most frequent sociological approach to the study of interaction between the young child and his environment is represented by the observational studies of the patterning of social behavior in nursery-school children sponsored by the child-development institutes. While these studies have taken the behaving child rather than the impinging environment as a focus, they have contributed both to our knowledge of the direct influence of persons and of social situations on child behavior and to the refinement of methods of research, which is the first step in any scientific investigation of environmental impact on behavior. This type of research has been concerned with the definition of personality and growth patterns in individual

[2] Gertrude Laws, *Parent-Child Relationships—A Study of the Attitudes and Practices of Parents Concerning Social Adjustment of Children.* Contributions to Education, No. 283 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927).

children and with the differentiation of normal and abnormal (usual and unusual) patterns of behavior at successive stages of development and under varying environmental conditions. It has stressed the importance of finding out *how* children behave as a necessary preliminary to the study of *why* they behave as they do.

The development of time-sampling techniques of controlled observation, in these studies, is important for the reason that quantitative methods of this sort yield information which is legitimately comparable from child to child and from one environment to another. The reliability of the data derived by such methods, being a function of the accuracy with which the behavior was recorded and the representativeness of the sampling of behavior for the individuals and groups observed, can be readily calculated. These techniques facilitate comparisons of the behavior patterns of different children in the same environment, of the same child in different environments, and of groups of children in different environments. Their range of usefulness can undoubtedly be extended to include a greater variety of situations than those in which they have thus far been applied. They are particularly suited to the study of normal behavior in young children because of the lack of sophistication of the young child and are especially applicable to the study of the incidence of specific social or cultural patterns in homogeneous groups of children, *i.e.,* in the comparison of age groups, nationality groups, etc. Further refinement of these techniques seems to lie in the direction of the substitution of inconspicuous automatic timing instruments for the stop watch and artificial time scale thus far used and increased emphasis on the study of environmental factors affecting the representativeness of the samples of behavior obtained within a given situation.

The direct influence of specific persons on the social-behavior patterns of a child can be clearly demonstrated by quantitative records of this sort. We find, for example, in a group of kindergarten children observed during a work period in which there was abundant opportunity for unrestricted social interaction, children whose

general pattern is one of marked sociability as measured by the frequency with which they conversed with others but for whom one child or the teacher was the dominant stimulus for social activity.[3] To cite one example, the kindergarten girl who ranked highest in a group of twenty-four for social talkativeness addressed seventy-two per cent of her social speech to one child. What would have been her pattern of social behavior if this child had not been there, we can only guess. She might have found another bosom pal or she might have been definitely asocial or she might have mingled more extensively with the other members of the group.

The experimental approach, developed most extensively at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, has contributed some highly suggestive results pertinent to the problem of measuring environmental impact on behavior. A study of ascendant behavior in four-year-old children deserves mention as a significant attempt to change social behavior by a definite process of training.[4] Ascendant behavior, as defined in this study, included "(1) the pursuit of one's own purposes against interference and (2) directing the behavior of others." Five children, defined as nonascendant on the basis of preliminary experiments, were given special training with the purpose of increasing their self-confidence in a particular social situation. At the end of the training period, each of the five children was exposed ten times to the situations with which he had become familiar, each time in paired combination with a different child. The results showed a definite effect of the training in increasing the ascendance scores of the previously nonascendant children. A more recent study in the same series suggests that the effect of the training is less apparent in a free social situation than in the training situation itself.[5]

[3] Ruth E. Arrington, "Observational Studies of Young Children" (unpublished study).
[4] Lois M. Jack, An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children in "Behavior of the Preschool Child." University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 3, 1934.
[5] Marjorie Lou Page, The Modification of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 12, No. 3, 1936.

The descriptive survey of the environment of the young child included in the recently published White House Conference report entitled *The Young Child in the Home* represents another type of indirect approach to the study of behavior-environment relationships.[*] The aspects of this investigation which are especially pertinent to the present discussion are its methodologically significant attempt to obtain a representative sampling of the total population of preschool children in this country, its portrayal of relationships between socio-economic status and other environmental factors, and the information obtained concerning the frequency with which preschool children come in contact with community influences (as measured by frequency of attendance at motion-picture theaters, Sunday schools, etc.). Some eight hundred field workers, in interviews predominantly with mothers, obtained comparable information for about four thousand children representing about three thousand families. Families were carefully selected on the basis of geographic location, size of community, and socio-economic status, as measured by father's occupation, but the resultant sampling was overweighted in favor of the higher economic groups. Relationships between socio-economic status and such factors as size of family, type of home, material possessions, parents' health, education, interest in child care, methods of discipline, children's attendance at movies and Sunday school are shown by histograms.

The wealth of highly suggestive clinical material that has been accumulated under the impetus of the mental-hygiene and psychoanalytic movements has helped to clarify our conception of what constitutes the young child's environment and what are the significant points of impact. Sociologists, in interpreting life histories and other behavior documents, have stressed the extreme importance of social environment, the overwhelming influence of the family and the community, in defining behavior trends in the individual. Pro-

[*]John E. Anderson (ed.), *The Young Child in the Home*, White House Conference Publication (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936).

fessor Burgess has emphasized the role of the family in transmitting culture to the child and the fact that clashes between family and community standards are the most frequent sources of parent-child conflict as well as of conflict within the individual.[7] W. I. Thomas has contributed the concept of the definition of the situation by the family and the community. He describes the process of acculturation in the young child in the following excerpt from *The Unadjusted Girl:*

> As soon as the child has free motion and begins to pull, tear, pry, meddle, and prowl, the parents begin to define the situation through speech and other signs and pressures: "Be quiet," "Sit up straight," "Blow your nose," "Wash your face," "Mind your mother," "Be kind to your sister," etc. This is the real significance of Wordsworth's phrase, "Shades of the prison house begin to close upon the growing child." His wishes and activities begin to be inhibited, and gradually, by definitions within the family, by playmates, in the school, in the Sunday school, in the community, through reading, by formal instruction, by informal signs of approval and disapproval, the growing member learns the code of his society.[8]

Thrasher's study of Chicago gangs affords illuminating sidelights on the relationship between deviate patterns in the individual and deviate family and community patterns.[9] Stealing from railroad cars may become a family- and community-sanctioned pattern as firmly fixed in the culture of sections of Chicago adjoining the railroad tracks as is its opposite in the more highly favored socio-economic areas of the city.

What, briefly, are the kinds of environmental influence to which the young child is exposed? There is first what we may call the gross environmental heritage of the child, the family atmosphere into which he is born. A child may be said to have two kinds of family

[7] Ernest W. Burgess, "Family Tradition and Personality Development," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work,* 55, 1928, pp. 322–330.
[8] W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1923), pp. 43–44.
[9] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

environment, one that he holds in common with any brothers and sisters he may have and one that is his own peculiar heritage. The first is a relatively fixed constellation of influences determined by the kind of parents he happens to have and the kind of home they happen to live in. It includes the cultural background of the parents as determined by such factors as race, nationality, and family traditions, their intelligence, education, religious beliefs, emotional stability, and social adjustment, their attitudes toward each other, toward the home, and toward the community, the number of parents living in the home, whether the parents are divorced or separated, etc. It includes also the myriad factors which we are wont to group under the single heading of socio-economic status—the size of the home in relation to the size of the family, the number and quality of the material possessions of the family, the occupation and income of the father or mother or both, the location of the home, whether in the city or in the country, in a small or in a large city, in an isolated or in a populous region, the kind of community in which the family lives, etc. The second kind of home environment, which for each child in the family is different from that of any other child and which in part accounts for the marked differences we find in the behavior of siblings, includes the child's relationship to the other members of the household, whether he is the only child or one of two, three, four, or twenty-four, his age order in relation to that of the other children, whether he is an own child, a foster child, a stepchild, a wanted or an unwanted child, the attitudes toward him of the various members of the family group. Then there are all the combinations and permutations of these influences interacting one with another and acting upon every member of the household.

Such evidence as we have, however, suggests that these are not the primary sources of direct environmental impact, at least in the case of the young child, that they affect the child only indirectly through their influence on the behavior of the persons with whom

the child comes in contact. The behavior of the adolescent may be directly influenced by knowledge of the inferior social or economic status of his family, by the fact that his parents are divorced or that he is a foster child or an illegitimate child, but these factors have not begun to impinge on the child in the preschool period. The young child is more influenced by action than by conscious knowledge. Direct impressions on his behavior are made by the behavior of other persons toward him or in his presence, the methods used in teaching him socially acceptable patterns of behavior, the kinds of punishment and reward meted out to him, the consistency or inconsistency of discipline to which he is exposed, the examples set consciously or unconsciously by members of the family group, by teachers, and by playmates.

It is safe to say that the majority of the direct contacts of the young child with his elders involve efforts on the part of the elders to inculcate in the child the accepted social and cultural mores of their own immediate world. When the family mores are in accord with the community mores, the child has a relatively easy time of it. Conflict between family and community mores, on the other hand, is likely to be reflected in social maladjustment in the child. The kinds of behavior patterns which American culture expects the child to acquire during the preschool years can be seen in reverse in lists of behavior problems at this age level. There is, first of all, a rather complicated set of personal habits which, once acquired, frees the child to a considerable extent from dependence on adults and makes him an agreeable person to have around—eating, dressing, and elimination habits, approved sex behavior, and patterns of this sort. There are self-protective habits, such as displaying caution in crossing streets. The kinds of social patterns that bear the stamp of approval or disapproval in our current American society can be determined fairly well from an examination of the many personality rating scales and personality tests in current use. Among the approved social traits are such patterns as politeness, sympathy toward others, kindness, obedience to authority, social conformance in

group situations, coöperation, respect for the property of others, self-control, and sociability.

Direct approaches to the problem of environmental influence on social behavior have been more frequent in studies of older children. Shaw's study of delinquency areas in Chicago is the outstanding sociological contribution from the standpoint both of method and of findings. In its attempt to relate delinquent behavior to the environmental setting in which it occurred, it represents the strictly cultural approach. By plotting home addresses on maps of the city of Chicago, the geographic distribution of delinquents was determined and ratios of delinquents to the total population of similar age and sex in different areas were computed. Comparison of delinquency rates for different areas indicated that school truants, juvenile delinquents, and adult criminals tend to be concentrated in the areas adjacent to the business districts and industrial centers, lowest rates of delinquency occurring in the outlying residential communities.[10]

A recently published University of Iowa study investigated the influence of environment on the personality of school children by comparing two groups of children living in two different socio-economic areas of the same city. Each group included fifty-six children and the number of families represented was approximately the same in the two areas. The parents and the child were interviewed separately by a psychiatrist, the interviews being recorded verbatim by a stenographer who also served to introduce the psychiatrist to the family and to make an appointment for a subsequent interview by a social worker. The information obtained in these interviews was supplemented by a personality questionnaire filled out by the children's teachers, and by such data as could be derived from available records of various community organizations. The community background was described in terms of size and population of the area, appearance, property values, juvenile delinquency, school transfers, recreational facilities and agencies, school provision for recreation, and library facilities. The authors conclude that parental

[10] Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

attitudes have a more important influence on personality adjustment than community influences, that the physical environment is in itself of comparatively little importance.[11]

The May and Hartshorne studies of deception, using the experimental test-situation approach, clearly demonstrated the fact that cheating, lying, and stealing are highly specific patterns of behavior that occur in response to particular factors in a situation, rather than to the situation as a whole. Children practise deception in one situation and not in another and on one test and not on another in the same classroom. Deceptive behavior was found to be related to cultural and social limitations in the home background, to the kind of associates the child had, and to teacher-class relationships.[12]

A variety of techniques have been devised for getting indirect information concerning what goes on in the home from school children. One study investigated children's replies to a questionnaire concerning psychological factors in the family. The questionnaire was designed to get at parental attitudes toward the child, the compatibility or incompatibility of the parents, the personal adjustment of each of the parents.[13] Another study of home environment used a group test applicable to children in the fifth to eighth grades to study relationships between cultural background and character. Children were not asked to report on their own homes as in the other study but to answer general questions, to say what would happen under specific circumstances, the assumption being that their answers would be correlated with actual happenings in their own homes.[14] The application of techniques of this sort to older brothers and sisters of preschool children might yield interesting supplementary data.

In this cursory appraisal of the current status of research on the

[11] Kenneth V. Francis and Eva A. Fillmore, *The Influence of Environment Upon the Personality of Children.* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 2, 1934.

[12] Mark A. May and Hugh Hartshorne, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

[13] Royal S. Hayward, "The Child's Report of Psychological Factors in the Family," *Archives of Psychology* (New York: Columbia University, 1935), No. 189.

[14] Edith Marie Burdick, "A Group Test of Home Environment," *ibid.*, No. 101.

environment of the young child, the need for a concerted attack on the problem of environmental influence in the early years has been emphasized. So far we have merely grazed the surface of the fundamental issue, but in so doing we have acquired methods of attack and insight as to the relative importance of various factors. As an essential background for the evaluation of individual behavior we need to extend the beginnings already made in the direction of defining social and cultural patterns for preschool children of varying ages, nationalities, races, economic levels, etc., with increased emphasis on the more strictly cultural patterns of behavior. We need reliable observational records of the process of acquisition of cultural and personality patterns in individuals. We need to overcome our emotional biases with respect to quantitative and nonquantitative methods to the extent of being willing to take advantage of the methodological gains of the two approaches in attacking new problems.

But these are, after all, only the preliminary stages of investigation leading to a clearer definition of the problem. In the last analysis, we must rely on carefully controlled experimental or comparative studies for substantial evidence of important relationships between environment and behavior. We must actually change the environment, defining the behavior and the environment with equal precision before and after the change, or observe behavior before and after environmental changes that occur in the normal course of events. Some such approach as that of Freeman[15] and Burks[16] in their studies of environmental influence on intelligence, if the extreme difficulty of executing such a program could be surmounted, would seem to offer the most definitive means of demonstrating the actual effect of environment on the sociocultural development of the child.

[15] Frank N. Freeman, Karl J. Holzinger, and Blythe C. Mitchell, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement, and Conduct of Foster Children," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, pp. 103–217.

[16] Barbara S. Burks, "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture Upon Mental Development; A Comparative Study of Foster Parent-Foster Child Resemblance and True Parent-True Child Resemblance," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, pp. 219–316.

PROBLEMS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

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Sociologists and social psychologists have a broader avenue of approach to the study of child behavior today than they have ever had before. It is now quite generally recognized that social interaction begins at birth, and the implications of this fact for behavior research are many. As it happens, much of the preliminary work has been done not by sociologists, but by educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, and associated workers in the clinics, research laboratories, and institutes of child welfare. It is encouraging to find that students of the social sciences also are now entering this field, so peculiarly their own. A coöperative program, carefully planned to take in all aspects of personality development, will without question provide the solid foundation which is still lacking—a knowledge of the basic processes underlying education and the many other arts and technologies that deal with the shaping and control of human nature. To such an all-round research program the social psychologist has much to contribute.

The central core of social psychological theory, in the judgment of many, is the concept of personality as relative to the demands and expectations of one's social groups or, in the words of Park and Burgess,[1] as "the sum and organization of those traits which determine the role of the individual in the group"—therefore varying in greater or less degree as the person passes from group to group within his social world, a corollary not always kept in mind. This general conception is widely held today and would seem to be of vital importance for any serious studies of personality development in early life. Yet too little time has been spent in the research pro-

[1] Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924).

cedures necessary to test and establish its validity beyond all question, or to indicate what modifications may be required. We know almost nothing, except in an empirical way, about the specific effects of children's experiences in their first social groups—all kinds of children and all kinds of groups. As L. K. Frank[2] said recently, "We have hardly begun to do the critical thinking and experimentation that will be needed in the next five or ten years. Habit training—the way in which culture is imposed—may have more significance for personality than we have thought." Wellman[3] expressed much the same idea in different words: "There is no such thing as maturation versus training; there is, rather, growth of the organism under one set of conditions or under another set. We must study the *conditions under which* given results are attained." (Emphasis mine—R.P.K.) Murphy[4] points out, on the other hand, that "Some acts and groups of acts do appear with some uniformity at various age levels. Whether they *must* inevitably so appear, no matter what the environment, is another question." This new stressing of the need for detailed analysis of the social environment became almost a refrain as paper after paper was presented at the Midwest Regional Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (University of Chicago, November 9 and 10, 1935).

The recognition of new problems and the development of method must of course go forward together. Marked progress has been made during the last two or three years in breaking up this forbidding complex known as the social environment. A recent volume by Fitz-Simons[5] recognizes parental attitudes as perhaps the most influential part of this environment, and offers a guide for estimating their

[2] L. K. Frank, Discussion at session on Social and Cultural Environment, Midwest Regional Meeting, Society for Research in Child Development, University of Chicago, November 1935.

[3] Beth Wellman, "Training and Education." Paper read at the Midwest Regional Meeting, Society for Research in Child Development, University of Chicago, November 1935.

[4] Gardner Murphy and Lois B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931).

[5] Marian J. Fitz-Simons, *Some Parent-Child Relationships*. Contributions to Education, No. 643 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935).

type, on the basis of guidance clinic case records, and relating them to the child's behavior. Studies such as those carried on at the University of Iowa by Lois M. Jack[6] and others appear to prove that reliable objective techniques can be evolved for the observational and experimental study of social behavior within specific cultural situations. Roberts,[7] Phillips,[8] and their colleagues, working with Ralph Ojemann, have taken pioneer steps in the direction of adapting such techniques to the requirements of investigation in the home and in surroundings that have been considered relatively unfavorable to research. Nowhere, however, to my knowledge, has it been explicitly recognized that the study of a child's many-sided personality necessarily involves the taking of comparable records in all the social groups of which he is a part; *i.e.*, those in which he regularly spends some portion of his time. (It seems sometimes that the children themselves see this more clearly than we. "At home I don't like blue!" was overheard in a preschool play group.) Some children find it necessary to adapt to groups whose codes and methods of social control are divergent, even contradictory; others live in a world all of whose groups function harmoniously. I do not think we know the effects of either situation.

If we think of personality as a function of group experience, this more inclusive approach may reasonably be expected to yield facts of great value, leading perhaps to the establishment of an index of trait stability, early recognition of abnormal personality trends, discrimination between normal and extreme variation in personality, and a new sense of the power which one's social groups exert in the forming of human nature.

When we begin to see each child, not in a vacuum, but as the

[6] Lois M. Jack, *An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children.* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 3, 1934.
[7] Mary Price Roberts, *A Study of Children's Play in the Home Environment.* Researches in Parent Education II, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 8, 1933.
[8] David F. Phillips, *Techniques for Measuring the Results of Parent Education: Eating and Sleeping of Preschool Children.* Researches in Parent Education II, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 8, 1933.

center of a complex web of human relationships and activities, the question of sampling looms large before us. Stern[9] indicated some years ago that most of the studies then available dealt with "privileged" children and that almost nothing was known about the little child of the proletariat. This is only slightly less true today. Even where children from homes of low economic status are the subjects, they are contacted, usually, within the standardized, controlled environment of a nursery school. Kawin,[10] Goodenough,[11] and a few others have compared groups of children from widely different socio-economic levels. The outstanding findings are that those from the upper economic groups excel in intelligence tests predominantly verbal, while the children of the lower economic levels rate higher in tests based on motor skills and in independence of adults, etc. The question is at once raised: Do differences in early home environment affect the child's development mentally and socially, as well as physically, and how can these effects, if any, be measured and related to the conditions under which they have appeared? Cavan,[12] analyzing data collected by the questionnaire method for the White House Conference study of the adolescent in the family, found that parent-child relationships were apparently of greater weight than economic status in determining adjustment. Similarly, Francis and Fillmore[13] found no significant difference in personality adjustment between children in two contrasting sections of an Iowa city—one poverty-stricken, the other wealthy. But adjustment is not the only question to be investigated. (It should be noted, too, that without exception these studies deal with the child's adjustment in general. Compa-

[9] William Stern, *The Psychology of Early Childhood* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1924).
[10] Ethel Kawin, *Children of Preschool Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).
[11] Florence L. Goodenough and Gertrude Shapiro, "The Performance of Preschool Children of Different Social Groups on the Kuhlman-Binet Tests," *Journal of Educational Research*, 18, 1928, pp. 356–362.
[12] Ruth Shonle Cavan, "The Relation of Home Background and Social Relations to Personality Adjustment," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1934, pp. 143–154.
[13] Kenneth V. Francis and Eva A. Fillmore, *The Influence of Environment upon the Personality of Children*. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 2, 1934.

rable data have not been secured within his varied social groups.) Anderson[14] reports a study of differential environments within a given culture in relation to child care, concluding, "A striking picture of different levels or types of culture is thus shown for the different socio-economic levels. The desirability of considering the problem of sampling on a socio-economic basis when treating developmental problems is shown." Here is a domain in which the sociologist should feel at home. Variations in national culture-patterns of child care and training, and in resultant personality types, may well be investigated, in addition to those characterizing different socio-economic levels within each culture.

The current depression urges upon us more intensive studies than have yet been made of the effects of economic insecurity and rapid changes of status upon family relationships and child development. Statistical surveys have prepared the ground. We know, for example, that children between five and sixteen years are found one third more frequently on the relief rolls than in the general population, according to the Unemployment Relief Census of 1933, and that relatively far more Negro families than white are receiving relief. Something has been learned as to the age composition of these groups and also as to the extent of "doubling up" among all urban families—reaching seven per cent in Chicago at the time of the January 1934 census. The significance of these facts for personality growth and adjustment remains to be investigated, though current studies of the effects of the depression, in progress at several universities, promise valuable material.

It seems altogether probable that the immediate future will see rapid strides toward the determination of the conditions under which, within the limits set by individual endowment, certain types of social behavior may be predicted. What is to be the share and contribution of the social psychologist in this general advance? His

[14] John E. Anderson, *The Relation of Differential Environments within a Given Culture to Child Care*. Appendix G, Fourth Conference on Research in Child Development (Washington: National Research Council, 1933).

viewpoint, in its essentials, would appear indispensable as a frame of reference in formulating hypotheses for the studies which lie ahead, as indicated by the report of the conference held under the auspices of the Research Planning Committee of the American Sociological Society, published under the title "Sociological Research in Adolescence."[15] The extent to which the sociologist or social psychologist himself, in collaboration with his co-workers in the allied disciplines, carries through these and other studies will depend on many factors—not the least important of which is his own recognition of the imperative necessity for such research.

[15] "Sociological Research in Adolescence," *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1936.

CHILD BEHAVIOR FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGIST

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The object of the present symposium is, as I understand it, to determine how, when, and where the environment, especially the cultural environment, makes direct impact upon the child, and how the impact can be observed and how measured. There are very extensive data in our anthropological sources on certain end results in child behavior, but relatively little on the factors and processes, cultural or other, which have brought about these end results. A great many of these data have been assembled in compilations, such as Ploss's *Das Kind*. Close-ups of child behavior in particular tribal groups may be gotten from an occasional monograph, such as Kidd's *Savage Childhood* or Vanoverbergh's recently published study of the Isneg Life Cycle. About the only anthropologist who has devoted intensive attention not only to end results in child behavior but to the factors and processes by and through which these results have been produced is Margaret Mead—and it is naturally the factors and processes more than the end results that one must study for evidence of the impact of culture.

One reason why anthropology has not given much attention to the factors and processes back of child development is that it has been busy about many things and just did not think of doing so. A second reason is that the average anthropologist is not trained in sociopsychological techniques. A third reason is that he is very much afraid, perhaps overtimid, lest he read too much of his own subjective self into the objective facts he tries to observe and record.

My own interests and training have been more in the ethnological field and in the use of ethnological techniques, with psychological and sociological interests only marginal thereto. My personal field work, while conducted in the main along traditional ethnological

lines, has however brought me into some contact with certain phases of child development, inasmuch as my more particular ethnological interest in the field has been with the child and the woman. The people I know best at first hand are the eastern Cree of James Bay and it is chiefly from their culture that I shall draw such facts as can be presented in this short paper.

These Cree are an Indian tribe or cluster of bands living in the James Bay region of northern Canada, James Bay being the southern extension of Hudson Bay. They lead a simple nomadic life. They depend purely on hunting, trapping, and fishing for their livelihood. Throughout most of the year—roughly, from September to June—these two thousand Cree are spread out over a territory of about seventy-five thousand square miles. They are scattered in small family groups, each group isolated from the others on its own hunting territory, the territory having been hereditary in the family time out of mind. In the summer months, however, they gather at the several trading posts on the coast. It is then they may be studied. Some, but by no means all, of the children have been to the mission schools. Although these Indians have been in contact with white people for many decades they still retain much of their aboriginal culture. They are far less acculturated than most Indian groups in the United States. This was brought home to me very clearly this past summer when I went for the first time to visit the Seneca of western New York. I was quite taken aback when one of the first questions I was asked by a Seneca was what I thought of the recently published biography of Catherine the Great. Such sophistication would be entirely foreign to the Cree.

Now for some illustrative end results of cultural impact on the Cree child, and for the factors and processes, so far as I have been able to interpret these factors and processes objectively, although, even so, I am afraid that possibly a subjective element may be entering into the interpretation. For purposes of illustration, I shall choose just three angles of child life. First, sense of responsibility and

self-reliance; second, the nonaggressive, noncompetitive, sharing attitude; third, the absence of adolescent conflict.

First of all, the sense of responsibility and self-reliance. Cree children are relatively responsible and independent at a very early age, compared with our own children. The attitude of adults toward children differs considerably from ours and hence orients the behavior of the child in a different direction. Cree children are taken seriously. Notwithstanding the fact that parents are exceedingly fond of their children, there is no baby talk for these youngsters. For very tiny infants there is some fondling, but even a three-year-old is supposed to stand pretty much on his own feet as it were.

There is a certain dignity in the way children are treated, even those so young they can hardly walk. No shade of annoyance is apparent in adults regardless of how much children get in the way or cause delays in working. Babies are usually allowed to crawl about and to play with whatever they can find. I remember one situation which appeared to me to be fraught with much danger, but which was taken as a matter of course by the old woman who was caring for her little grandson. The child was barely able to crawl, yet he was playing with a big and effective-looking knife. Nothing was said until the woman needed the knife to cut some birchbark. The baby gave it up when she wanted it, only to grab it as soon as she laid it down again, quite within his reach. "Don'ts" are seldom heard.

Children, instead of being petted and protected, learn by experience and are encouraged to use their own judgment. On one occasion I had a number of inexpensive necklaces. I gave them all to my interpreter and told her to choose one for herself and one for each of her three small girls. She, however, took it for granted that the children should be allowed to choose for themselves. She stood by and let each pick out the one she preferred, offering no comments or suggestions. Afterwards the mother told me that the youngest girl,

about seven, was very changeable and that although she might regret her choice she would have to abide by her decision. Again, it is the custom that should one wish to obtain an ethnological specimen, such as a basket or some little trinket, he must deal directly with the owner, even though the owner happens to be only seven or eight years of age. The bargaining is done with the child, and parents or other adults who may be present, disclaiming all responsibility, will give no clue as to what value should be placed on the article in question.

In general, the indirect "take for granted" system of training, which to us often looks like spoiling, is the method used to instill self-reliance and responsibility. There is little physical correction. I have never seen a child spanked or even threatened. In case the mother is very busy and the children tease too much for attention, they are shooed out of the lodge and told to stay away all day. They may miss a meal, but when they return in the evening they are given something to eat before they go to bed. It would be considered too cruel to send a child to bed without his supper, whereas going all day from morning to evening without food is a common experience for adults and children.

As with us, bugaboos are used for very small children. But when children are considered old enough to understand, proper conduct is expected as a matter of course from them. They are not threatened into conformity or appealed to. As an illustration, the attempt to get information on stealing is illuminating. Here I may be permitted to draw on the experience of my colleague, Dr. Cooper. We have both worked in the same James Bay area. An old Cree squaw was asked this question by him: "If a boy six years old were to come back to his own lodge with a pair of moccasins he had stolen from another lodge, what would you say to him?" The old woman thought a while and at last answered: "A boy *that* old would not do that." So the whole question had to be repeated with an age change: "If a boy

four years old," and so forth. Another long pause, and she replied: "Well, yes, *he* might, being so young." "But what would you say to him?" "I'd ask him, where did you get those moccasins? From the lodge over there? Did the people give them to you? No. Well take them back." The old woman was here asked, "Wouldn't you say anything else to the boy, or scold him?" "No. The moccasins didn't belong to him."

We now turn to our second illustration: the nonaggressive, noncompetitive, sharing attitude. The culture pattern revolves around the family. The fact that culture is so home centered probably accounts in large measure for the relatively noncompetitive, nonaggressive attitudes which prevail. Generosity is premiated. Prestige is gotten from approval of elders. Sharing with others and good nature are prime virtues. Ability to do things, not to beat others, is what counts. The noncompetitive, nonaggressive attitudes of the child are especially noticeable in the field of recreation. In contests between individuals, such as high jumping, foot races, or canoe races, there is some degree of the competitive element present, but it is more masked and implicit. There is no challenge and no drive to triumph over contestants. Defeat is taken not only good-naturedly but lightly. The fighting spirit is not apparent. The boys using bows and arrows and other weapons play at hunting, not at warfare. Some of the children's games are rough and tumble, but deliberate cruelty is not approved.

The children form into loose play groups, but the gang in its characteristic form as found among us white Americans can hardly be said to exist. Instead of horizontal age groupings between ten and sixteen, the Cree play group constitutes a vertical grouping from even five or six to fifteen. The leadership may be a real one but it goes more commonly to the oldest than to the most popular or most aggressive. Predatory activities and snubbing attitudes are absent.

Children are expected to be generous and to share from earliest childhood. They are taught this very definitely. When I gave sweets

to a child she would run at once to her mother and give them to her. The mother would then distribute the candies among the other children of the family and save the last piece for the one who brought the candy in. A great ado is made over the first bird a little boy kills. He brings it to his grandfather or father who does not hesitate to show his pride in the achievement. Small though the bird is, it is duly prepared and then divided among the members of the family—the boy gets none of it.

Our third illustration, from the absence of conflict at adolescence, can be dealt with more briefly. So far as I am able to judge, there is no crisis or conflict at adolescence. In the first place adolescence is not marked by any rite, either social or religious. I have been very much struck with the contrast in this respect between the eastern Cree in the north and the Mescalero Apache of the southwest, among whom I spent the summer of 1931. Among the latter the major annual celebration centers about a very elaborate rite for girls who have reached physiological maturity during that year. There is seemingly no conflict among the Cree from frustration of the desire to be considered grown up, for these young people have been taken seriously from a very early age, and they take their places in adult society when still very young. Moreover, in regard to vocation, there is little choice. A boy knows from earliest youth that he must be a good hunter if he is to succeed and a girl knows that she must be able to do the woman's share of the work if she is to get a good husband. Vocational indecision does not cause tension for the young, and, since the ambitions of the young are in accord with what their parents wish for them, this latter source of conflict is automatically barred. Finally in regard to sex, they marry early, and besides there is a fair amount of premarital freedom and license and even some incest.

So much for the concrete facts illustrative of cultural impact among one group, an impact observable particularly in the factors by which and the processes through which the end results in child

behavior are brought about. The end results are clear; I think from the evidence we are safe in saying they are the results of cultural factors and processes; that is, not of racial or psychological factors and processes. (The subjective may be entering in here but I have tried to eliminate it.) Now three general suggestions and observations on what light upon child development can and cannot be expected from cultural anthropology: first, the possibilities in general; second, the possibilities among the lower nomads in particular; third, the limitations.

First, the possibilities. Among no primitive people is the impact of culture so great that it crushes individuality and brings about a dead level of uniformity. The anthropologist is realizing more and more keenly individual differences among primitive people—the varying degrees of acculturation of the individual to his own tribal cultural pattern. But not very much has been done so far by our ethnologists. Here is a fruitful field for the investigation of personality differences in children as well as of individual deviations. Again, by comparing our own with primitive cultures, we can distinguish what is cultural and clear the way for measuring the impact by the careful application of sociopsychological techniques. Others have stressed the fact that primitive society offers very favorable laboratory conditions—fairly homogeneous material and simple conditions, with variables reduced to a minimum—so I need not labor this point.

Instead I should like to pass to the second general suggestion and call attention to possibilities for research among the lower nomads. Within the large group of cultures we class as primitive, in the sense that they are preliterate, there are not only great varieties of cultural patterns but also great differences in cultural level. Some cultures are vastly more primitive, more simple, than others. For instance, in material culture as well as in many phases of economic achievement and social organization, there is almost as great a contrast in *pattern* between the Cree and Mead's Samoans or Malinowski's Trobriand

Islanders as there is between the Samoans or Trobriand Islanders and ourselves, and also almost as great difference in general *level* of cultural advance. The primitives of Samoa and the Trobriand Islands are sedentary agricultural peoples, having many arts and crafts of a relatively high order, as well as a complicated social organization and religious life, enormously more complex than anything to be found among our nomadic hunting Cree and other tribes on the very simple levels of primitive culture. These very simple peoples lack in whole or in large part many of the culture characteristics which the more advanced primitives share with civilization, such as currency, slavery, concept of war, suicide, organized prostitution, to mention only a few. Hence it seems to me that the very simple primitives fulfill the laboratory conditions remarkably well.

The child comes in contact with an extremely simple and uniform cultural environment. Culture is mediated mostly through the immediate family and near kin. For a full nine months of the year the Cree child, for instance, sees no one and is in contact with no one but his immediate and near kin, his father and mother and siblings, and perhaps a half dozen other very near kin. There are scarcely any other social groups with which the child, or for that matter the adult, comes into contact. There are no sibs, no societies of any kind, no institutionalized age classes, no rigid gerontocracy, even no defined suprafamilial political organization or unit. The simpler the content of the cultural pattern and the fewer the agencies mediating it to the individual, the easier it is ordinarily for the investigator to grasp the processes operating and the fewer factors he has to isolate when dealing with a particular problem. In choosing primitive peoples upon whom to experiment I should suggest that these very simple lower nomads be included.

And now, thirdly and finally, a few suggestions regarding limitations in applying sociopsychological techniques in the primitive field. Longitudinal studies are not easily made, for the students properly equipped cannot ordinarily remain very long in the field.

A year is about the normal maximum and most ethnologists consider themselves fortunate if they have a few months at a time. Moreover, studies requiring statistical treatment and hence a large number of cases within a limited age range are usually not feasible because most primitive populations are rather small, even those living sedentary lives in villages, and all the more so where there is question of the lower nomad peoples who usually associate, at least most of the time, in bands or units well under a hundred souls, and often, as among the Cree, under ten. An intimate knowledge of the primitive language involved is a desideratum, but it is a qualification seldom met with, as most primitive languages require years of practice before real fluency in them can be attained. Field projects involving such linguistic knowledge must be thought over very carefully before they are launched. Nevertheless, much can be done by living among the people, using competent interpreters, and checking up all data by the various techniques of ethnological field work.

But apart from these and some other limitations we feel that the field is a most promising one. It goes without saying that workers in it interested primarily in the problems of child development should be familiar not only with the sociopsychological techniques, but also with the techniques of ethnological field work.

NEW TECHNIQUES FOR TRACING CULTURAL FACTORS IN CHILDREN'S PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION

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The main point of this paper, very briefly stated, is: With certain positive modifications and extensions, Piaget's method of child study offers a very fertile approach to the problem of children's personality development in terms of cultural conditions.

The reasoning methods and naïve beliefs of children with reference to various physical and moral phenomena were originally studied by Piaget in terms of certain universal characteristics. The influence of social factors (parental prestige and discipline, child-to-child contacts) was early stressed—but only as a general proposition.

A shift in emphasis soon became indicated: in terms of rather indeterminate variations in the broad characteristics of childish talking, thinking, and believing—in different, vaguely defined cultural milieux.

Evidence of a negative or passive sort has been accumulating and pointing in this direction for some time past. Piaget came to recognize such passive or negative evidence of certain European investigators who reported on children "with different scholastic environments in Germany, Spain, and Russia."[1] He was thus led to emphasize eventually that even with reference to the local French-Swiss culture, most of his own work refers only to "children from the poorer parts of Geneva" and that "in different surroundings the age averages would certainly have been different."[2]

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[1] Jean Piaget, *Language and Thought of the Child,* 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), p. xx.

[2] Jean Piaget, *Moral Judgment of the Child* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), p. 37, footnote.

Certain American and English investigations raised this point about the significance of cultural factors somewhat more positively. Thus Mead, in reporting on the apparent absence of "why" questions and animism in some of the cultures studied by her, specifically suggests that certain characteristics of given languages and certain cultural variants of religious training or general parental discipline may have to be reckoned with more actively.[3] Investigations concerned with the simultaneous examination of children belonging to contrasting subcultures served to indicate all this even more pointedly. Thus Harrower[4] found marked differences in the developmental sequences of children belonging to contrasting English socio-economic areas—in the matter of choice of punishments and concepts about cheating. Our own findings[5] on six points concerning all-round "moral realism" indicated that children in a low-income immigrant subculture rate definitely "lower" than those belonging to a higher income native subculture: even though the children compared had closely similar intelligence ratings, and were born and socialized in sections of the same American town.

However, in most of these and other even more passive or negative reports, the point made is merely that the investigator's findings more or less tally or disagree with those of Piaget. Whether such data tally or disagree with those of the pioneer studies, the reader will find but very meager, if any, suggestions as to why there may be a given degree of agreement or disagreement—in terms of possible, positive similarities or dissimilarities in the quality of the cultural milieux in which the studies in question were conducted.

The time has come, it seems, for a far more positive departure here—in terms of certain specific modifications and extension of Piaget's original approach. Given the modifications in question, we

[3] M. Mead, "The Primitive Child," in Murchison, *Handbook of Child Psychology*, 2d ed. (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1933).

[4] M. R. Harrower, "Social Status and the Moral Development of the Child," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, No. 4, 1934, pp. 75–95.

[5] E. Lerner, "Constraint Areas and the Moral Judgment of Children," unpublished doctor of philosophy thesis, Columbia University, 1935.

consider that we may soon have a very fertile approach to some fundamental aspects of children's personality development in terms of cultural conditions.

We wish to make it clear that we do not have in mind a formula for an excessively one-sided cultural determinism—as another excessive reaction to equally excessive "psychologizing" about cultural conditions—on the psychobiological side of the fence. The underlying assumption is that we are dealing with fused rates of convergence as between possible hereditary-temperamental and environmental-cultural forces—but that we are going to focus our attention on specific rates of convergence, in specific cultural milieux. Such an assumption is in essential harmony with Piaget's main organizing principle with reference to the transition from egocentric to "rational" methods of reasoning, offering as it does, in our opinion, one of the most consistent, imaginative yet sound formulae for reconciling the possible psychobiological and psychosociological factors. This organizing principle of Piaget suggests the nature of changing convergence in broad outline and in terms of accommodation and assimilation, as continuous phases of the process of adaptation. In his discussion of the "three systems of thinking," it is stated as follows: (a) in motor intelligence we have a mixture of the mind's accommodation to things and the assimilation of things by the mind, (b) in egocentric thinking, assimilation relatively preponderates and so subjectively distorts, due to a lack of impersonal perspective, while (c) in rational or relativistic thinking, the self is placed in perspective, and the element of accommodation on the part of the observer regains the role it attempted to play in "primitive motor intelligence."[6] Only, and this is one of the major modifications or extensions we propose, distortion always goes on; it becomes seemingly and in a limited sense actually more objective and systematized, according to the type of cultural milieu in which the transition from egocentric to relativ-

[6] Jean Piaget, "Les Trois Systèmes de la Pensée de l'Enfant," *Bulletin Société Française de Philosophie*, 1928, 28: 4, pp. 99–101.

istic thinking takes place. With reference to the more multidimensional valuations we shall discuss subsequently, children in different cultural areas will arrive at relativistic thinking to a varying extent, always with narrowly close reference to the particular universe of discourse which characterizes their given cultural milieux. But seldom can we expect a little Socrates who can go against the trend, so to speak, thus transcending the norms of relativity obtaining in his immediate cultural universe.

More specifically, here are the procedures we propose with reference to the approach we have in mind.

As a general working hypothesis for current research in the direction we have in mind, we would accept Piaget's theory of adult constraint with reference to the mental development of the child. Clinical observations concerned with the more multidimensional aspects of child behavior tend to harmonize with such assumption.

But we propose to break up this concept of adult constraint or adult influence, or any other cultural influence, into qualitatively more definite, refined, and empirically verifiable components. Adult constraint means chiefly parental influence and school influence. In addition to designating types of parental, school, or church influence in sheer census terms (in terms of membership of parents or parent-surrogates in given socio-economic, occupational, religious, ethnic, etc., groups), we must identify more definitely the quality, the main valuational or attitudinal pattern of what goes with such group membership of parents and parent-surrogates. To this end, we must secure certain "general evaluative attitudes" of such persons—with reference to, say, certain specific points on child rearing, physical, moral, educational, religious, etc. Such attitudes will partly reflect the orientation of parent-persons in terms of their own earlier culture adjustments, as to their own reaction to previous valuations of preceding generations and so on. The degree to which there is need for exercise of personal authority, for instance, is obviously of cardinal importance here. We can follow some of the

clues suggested by clinical observers like Plant[7] and then apply them somewhat in the manner tentatively worked out in a slightly different direction by Francis and Fillmore.[8] Aims stated in terms of ideals as to certain specific aspects of family life, classroom behavior, etc., will give us a more definite and dynamic picture of adult constraint or adult influence in given areas—in terms of what the parent-persons or other culture-surrogates come to expect in a more or less characteristically recurring manner.

Next, it will be necessary to tie up with the various, relatively abstract aspects of egocentricity discovered by Piaget some of the more dynamic, more multidimensional aspects of child behavior. This would be in further, bolder extension of what we attempted in our Genevan research:[9] with reference to empathic capacity and certain types of sociocentrism or forms of in-group clannishness and out-group prejudice—as pertinent, dynamic aspects of the principle of perspective. Extending this to more subtle and significant areas of valuation, we may well anticipate here some of the early beginnings for subsequent "generalized traits" of personality or "general evaluative attitudes" in G. Allport's sense of the term—of the sort tentatively schematized by Thomas and Znaniecki, Spranger, etc. This is certainly indicated for eventual longitudinal studies—prior to studying them in their most developed forms, on the level where we had the habit of fixating them, *i.e.,* that of late adolescence and young adulthood.

In addition to criteria for thinking methods and beliefs exhibited by the children, we must also look to the latter for some indirect verification of the kind of picture we obtained earlier of their elders as culture-surrogates. The child's conception of parental role, the role of teachers, etc., can serve as a more objective check-up on the possible overstatements or understatements of more sophisticated

[7] J. S. Plant, "Mental Hygiene Aspects of the Family," *The Family,* April, May, June, 1932.
[8] Kenneth V. Francis and Eva A. Fillmore, *The Influence of Environment upon the Personality of Children.* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 9, No. 2, 1934.
[9] E. Lerner, *The Problem of Perspective in Moral Reasoning* (to be published soon).

adults. In such twofold manner, we may then map out given constraint areas or superego areas.

Further, we must aim at more direct verification of the actual correlation between the two series; that is, as between the general evaluative attitudes of given culture-surrogates belonging to certain census categories and the characteristic reasoning methods, beliefs, and rudimentary "general attitudes" of the children.

Finally, as another major modification of Piaget's original approach, we must study such childish reasoning methods and naïve beliefs not only in terms of developmental sequences in broad age classes, but in terms of their intercorrelations in the case of individual children belonging to given age groups. It is here that we may look for significant and specific variations in the case of individual children belonging to the same subculture—possibly in terms of more definitely psychobiological considerations of temperament, etc.

The question may be raised at this point as to the significance of relatively abstract reasoning methods or naïve beliefs from the point of view of child personality as a whole.

For us the principle of perspective or illusions of perspective represents a potentially most fertile clue to social personality types in children. As suggested earlier, our assumption here is that in various, as yet inadequately defined subcultures we shall come up against chronically and characteristically recurring patterns of distortion or illusions of perspective about given individualized or more broadly social values. They will probably be distinguished in terms of children's ideals about the family, school, community, religion, etc.; in short, in terms of what the child comes to expect in given intimate or broader relationships, along more specific lines of Plant's broad analysis.[10] Such social cultural frames of reference for personality types or trends in children will usefully complement the existing psychobiological simplifications and dichotomies in

[10] Plant, *loc. cit.*

terms of intraversion-extraversion, masochism-sadism, inferiority-superiority, etc. This would especially hold with reference to the more multidimensional aspects of egocentricity, say, empathic capacity and sociocentric trends or other "general evaluative attitudes" in terms of ideals.

With reference to the more abstract aspects of egocentric thinking methods and beliefs, it may be sufficient to verify the differential effect of the more broadly and obviously contrasting conditions prevailing in given culture areas. For instance, with regard to animistic and artificialistic beliefs or other aspects of the child's religion and cosmogony, we may look for differences in contrasting language areas or rural versus urban areas. The relative frequency in the use of metaphors, superstitious sayings, proverbs, religious admonitions and the availability or degree of firsthand experience with natural and mechanical phenomena will very likely prove of significance here. And even with reference to some more multidimensional aspects of child mentality we may look beyond the more immediately personalized scale of values of culture-surrogates, whether adults or playmates. For instance, in the matter of certain forms of emphatic capacity as an aspect of the child's all-round objectivity or ability to look at his environment in a stand-off or stand-away manner, we may look to certain psychologically relevant and yet more broadly physical aspects of socio-economic status; *i.e.,* the matter or degree of crowding, again bearing in mind some of the clinical observations and hypotheses of Plant.

In the matter of actually going out and obtaining our data for this kind of problem setting, we face two types of more mechanical problems: (a) the technique of selection of subjects, in view of certain statistical difficulties in treating too numerous variables—if the latter cannot be empirically-experimentally controlled; and (b) the technique of interviewing and classification of response types. Time and space do not allow more than mere mention of our main ideas here.

As to selection of subjects, it is a question of constantly dealing with highly selected groups of children—selected simultaneously for five or six variables or even more. It is a question of abandoning the idea of broad random sampling. Eventually, it will call for studying children coming from the same subculture areas—as selected now for this, now for that set or package of variables, leaving for sheerly statistical control as few variables as possible.

With reference to interviewing, it is a question, first, of regularizing the informal interview method used in this kind of study (without sacrificing its so-called free association features), and, second, utilizing second- and third-line justifications of earlier given answers. The aim is to secure more dependable, uniform, and refined types of answer which will be more amenable to statistical treatment—a standard of accuracy thus far approximated only by the more objective test procedures of the paper-and-pencil variety.

With such techniques of selection, interviewing, and treatment of data relative to the kinds of problem setting outlined above, we feel that this method of child study will yield increasingly meaningful and dependable clues to specific cultural factors in specific types of child personality.

THE STUDY OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AS A BACKGROUND FOR RESEARCH IN CHILD BEHAVIOR

HARRIET R. MOWRER

Research in child behavior has generally taken the child as the unit of study whether it be in the psychiatric, psychological, biological, or sociological field. Sociological research has been from the standpoint of the child's status and role in society. That his basic roles (personality) are likely to be determined by the close relationships of the child and his family members has long been recognized. Such studies, accordingly, emphasize the importance of the role of the child in his family, the nature of the relationship between the different members, and his conception of this relationship, for the understanding of the development of his personality.

From the standpoint of methodology, the conventional procedure is that of detailed study of case-history and life-history documents. Such documents portray the behavior reactions of the young individual in various social situations—the family, the school, the neighborhood, the institutions, etc. Here the method is to supplement the child's own portrayal with segmental accounts of certain aspects of behavior, by the parents, the teacher, and other persons with whom the child has had significant contacts. Thus the point of approach is that of beginning with the child's behavior in response to the present situation, or as far into the past as can be recalled, and then finding an explanation of this behavior in terms of the social situations in which it has occurred.

An alternate procedure is that of beginning with the antecedents of the marriage situation into which the child was born, recognizing that the behavior problems presented by the child are in many instances simply the reflection of personality and marital conflicts of the parents.

It is doubtful if a complete understanding of problem behavior in the child can be had, therefore, by making him the focal point of study. What is more essential is to study first the personality and marriage patterns of the parents. The purpose of such a procedure is:

1. To reveal the basic mechanisms in the personality patterns of the husband and the wife which determine their marital adjustment

2. To get at the genesis of the attitudes entering into the patterns of sex, response, and cultural conflict which constitute the milieu into which the child is introduced at birth and in which he ordinarily continues to live

3. By revealing these mechanisms and attitudes, which are the significant determiners of the pattern of child-parent relationship, one may get at some of the most important factors in the personality adjustment of the child

How this approach accomplishes these purposes may be illustrated in the case of Ann, age 15, of superior intelligence, who is failing in school in all of her studies, dresses flashily to attract attention, and goes with boys of questionable reputation. The mother complains that the girl is lazy and incorrigible.

An analysis of the family reveals the following factors which can only be very briefly summarized.

Mrs. X, the mother, had an unhappy home life as a child due to domestic conflict between her parents. The mother, an active and dominating woman, fifteen years younger than her husband, told Mrs. X, her favorite daughter, all her domestic troubles. Mrs. X became closely identified with her mother, admiring her and hating her father. In spite of her feeling that she could never care for a man, Mrs. X married a distant cousin. Marriage, she felt, was the conventional thing. Sexual intercourse occurred a short time prior to marriage. The husband, a man with little financial status, but

ambitious to study and to become a geologist, she characterized as inferior and shiftless like her father—a man who liked books and did not earn much money.

Categorizing her marriage situation as similar to her mother's, this, then, became the pattern into which many aspects of her own marriage relations were made to fit. Attempts at sexual adjustment were characterized by inhibitions, avoidance, pent-up emotions and tensions, force, and resentment. Uppermost in Mrs. X's mind was the thought, "I must not get pregnant for I will want to divorce him." Mr. X, on the other hand, because of his wife's coldness and insinuations, was beginning to hate her.

Into this psychocultural situation the daughter was born fifteen months after marriage. At first Mrs. X showed some liking for the child. Mr. X criticized the details of his wife's care of the baby, accusing her of responsibility for the child's lack of robustness. He thus early became the child's champion on many occasions.

Sex and response conflict continued. Mrs. X complained of nervousness. Mr. X said that the circumstances of their relationship caused him to regard his wife in no different light from that of a prostitute.

Two years later a boy was born. At this time Mrs. X gave up thoughts of a divorce and assumed an attitude of martyrdom. Economic and cultural conflicts became more pronounced. Mrs. X went to work, saying that her husband's earnings were inadequate. She belittled all his attempts at advancement and relegated him to the inferior position of doing much of the housework in the home. Before their friends she pointed out his faults and failures and impractical ideas. In order to rationalize his inability to get ahead, Mr. X became more and more absorbed in his books in preparation for a better job which he never secured. He had lost what initiative he earlier possessed, and there was no longer any attempt to face reality.

As Ann grew up she became more and more identified with the

father. Her physical characteristics and mannerisms all seemed to remind Mrs. X of her husband. The girl's interests also were those of Mr. X—she was quiet, uninterested in athletics, fond of reading, and a dreamer.

A year ago Mrs. X forced her husband to leave the home, keeping the children with her. Antagonism between Ann and her mother has become exaggerated by the father's absence from the home. Mrs. X has relegated Ann to the same position which Mr. X formerly held. She disparages her continually by identifying her with the father ("You are just like your father; you will never get ahead"). Ann is assigned the same menial tasks the performance of which always meets with criticism and discouragement. Her reading, even though it include her school assignments, also is identified with that of the father. Her security is threatened by reminding her that she is dependent upon her mother because the father is too inadequate to support her, but that nevertheless she will be sent to him.

During this time an even closer attachment has developed between the son and mother. His capacities and traits are pointed out as superior to those of Ann. Mrs. X looks upon the traits of her son as similar to her own and finds him more sympathetic and understanding, even speaking of him as being like a mother to her. There is intense conflict between the two children, Mrs. X taking sadistic delight in displaying her preference for her son. His wishes are deferred to and his opinions sought. Mother and son frequently carry on conversations when Ann is present, in a universe of discourse of which she is not a part.

It is clear that the breakdown in Ann's school adjustment becomes intelligible as a response to a family situation in which she becomes the scapegoat of her mother's antagonism toward her father. Into this interactional situation enter a multitude of factors, many of which antedate even the birth of Ann. The most significant of these factors are: Mrs. X's identification with her mother as

against her father; the reënactment of her early family pattern in her own marriage; sexual relations prior to marriage which symbolized a threat to her dominance and became the basis for sadistic attitudes toward her husband; Mr. X's tendency toward subjective adjustments, intensified by wife's critical and depreciative attitudes toward him; intense domestic discord early in the marriage into which situation the birth of a child became another obstacle to separation and was resented as such by the mother; early identification of Ann with the father as he becomes her champion; close attachment of mother to her son; Ann's inferior role, crystallized when the father is forced to leave the home, resulting in attitudes of complete defeat toward her schoolwork and impulsive and irrational attempts at compensation.

Thus Ann's present behavior manifestations can be fully understood only in the light of the role into which she has been cast in family interaction. This role in turn becomes intelligible as one sees it in relationship to the roles of other members of the family, each of which had its beginning prior to the marriage situation. Thus it may be said that Ann was born, as is every child, into a prepatterned interactional situation which forecast and predefined her role. And while many of the details of this role are modified by the nature of subsequent family interaction and nonfamily contacts, the general continuity of the pattern persists. It is with the understanding of this general pattern that the approach in this paper is concerned.

The advantages of this approach have in practice been found to be: (1) It gives a complete genetic picture of the development of the parent-child relationship. Here is revealed the genesis of the attitudes that furnish an understanding of this relationship. (2) It does not single out any one experience in the life of the child and treat it out of perspective, but reëmphasizes the need for understanding the experience in terms of its setting, many elements of which are symbolic in character. (3) It gets at the connections between the patterns of overt responses of the child and the underlying

complexes of attitudes. Thus it recognizes that the situation to which the child responds is defined and gets its meaning out of the symbolization of certain elements in the marital adjustment.[1] (4) It implies a technique of interviewing the parents such as to counter-act the defensive and emotional attitudes which tend to arise when the parent feels that he may be censured for his treatment of the child. This placing of the child's behavior in its natural perspective serves to reorient the parent with reference to that behavior. (5) It provides a definition of the problem in other than overt terms and supplies clues to be followed in the subsequent study of the child. (6) It mobilizes the coöperative attitudes of the parents and thereby facilitates further study of the child's behavior.

[1] See the writer's *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord* (New York: American Book Company, 1935) for a more comprehensive treatment of this point.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNING

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The juvenile delinquent can be viewed as a youth who has witnessed a special, although by no means abnormal, child development, contingent in large part on the social or cultural process of behavior patterning.

BEGINNING OF MISCONDUCT AND DELINQUENCY

Just how early misconduct in children appears is not known exactly, but in our civilization and society infractions are abundantly present in the social life of preschool children. The situational factors under which misconduct arises are likewise imperfectly known; but this much is known, namely, it is not the behavior of the child *per se* that makes misbehavior but rather the rules of the family or substitute group that define misbehavior. Misconduct in the young child is misconduct in the eyes of adults and their culture patterns and not necessarily in terms of the attitudes of the child. Misbehavior is therefore a function of the impact of the patterning forces at work in the social environment of the child. This statement assumes that the behavior of the child, regardless of original material, can be patterned so as to reduce or exaggerate misconduct.

There is a strong suspicion that the sources of later delinquencies hark back to maladjustments in the family—to something faulty or wrong with the patterning process. But there is also strong suspicion that the behavior problems in the family may have little to do with later delinquencies and that the latter arise in the neighborhood situation—in the world beyond the family. At any rate, in our society the child must graduate to a world outside the home before

misconduct becomes official or unofficial delinquency. It is at this point that the legal definitions and jurisdictions apply to behavior. In America cases of children under six years of age appearing in courts for delinquency are rare indeed. The most recent coverage on juvenile-court statistics for the country as a whole reveals that only six per cent of the cases of delinquent children are under ten years of age.[1]

Case studies, giving the behavior situations in detail, are certainly needed for delinquent children under ten years of age, so as to be able to decipher more clearly the continuity of early misconduct in the family and neighborhood and its carry-over into later delinquencies. As it is now, we merely make conjectures and do not have the behavior sequence of misconduct growth before us. And at the same time we have no positive answer to whether the sources of delinquency trace back more to the early family than neighborhood situation of the young child or vice versa.

MATURATION OF DELINQUENT CAREERS

The process of misconduct growth does not cease when it emerges into initial delinquencies, because we have in our society the phenomenon of recidivism. The percentage of recidivists in the juvenile-court cases of any given year is reported to be small, only twenty-five per cent in the last reckoning by the Children's Bureau.[2] It is doubtful whether this figure gives a true indication of the extent of cumulative recidivism among children between six and eighteen years of age (the age span of juvenile-court jurisdiction in most instances). Nevertheless, the sizable minority of delinquent children, which continues on and on, constitutes the crux of the

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[1] Children's Bureau, *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1933,* United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1935.
[2] *Ibid.*

delinquency problem, since from these children are recruited the ones who climb from the lower into the higher brackets of delinquency patterning and graduate into professional criminal careers. Shaw[3] found abundant evidence for the emergence of criminal careers in the cases he studied. He called this process a process of summation. Sutherland[4] calls it a process of maturation and notes also that the criminal age is not chronological age but rather the extent of sophistication in crime. If there is any such thing as a typical criminal, forgetting the statistical mode for the moment, it is probably the young adult criminal who has come up through the ranks of early delinquency patterning and has graduated into crime as a profession. It was suggested that we need detailed case studies to indicate the carry-over from early misconduct to later delinquencies. But we need also a wealth of life histories that can depict the process of later maturation of criminal careers and the cumulative patterning incident to it.

THE AGE CURVE IN DELINQUENCY

A further examination of the statistics on delinquency indicates that as age increases so does the percentage of juvenile offenders. There are more delinquent children ten to twelve years of age than under ten, more twelve to fourteen than ten to twelve, and so on. Each successive age group—and for that matter each successive year of child life—has a higher proportion delinquent. If the criminal-court cases are included along with the juvenile-court cases, the curve of delinquency will be found to increase sharply with advancing age until about twenty-four years of age, after which there is a long tapering decrease.

[3] Clifford R. Shaw, editor, *The Jack-Roller; A Delinquent Boy's Own Story* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 347.
[4] Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934), Chapter 11.

DIFFERENTIALS IN DELINQUENCY

Boys get started in delinquency earlier than girls, which fact reflects the condition that our society, through its cultural patterns, accords greater latitude of movement and activity to young boys than young girls. The same explanation probably accounts for the fact that several times as many boys become delinquent as girls. Boys run more risks of getting caught through gang activities and street play. The likelihood of a boy getting caught and arraigned for misconduct in our sociolegal system is also much greater than that of a girl.

The race differential in delinquency rates, as between white and Negro, is also understandable in cultural and sociological terms. Negro children do not have the same advantages for patterning according to the ways of the dominant legal and moral order as have white children. Negro children are more liable to arrest, as is true probably of underprivileged persons and members of minority groups in advanced countries.

The urban-rural differences in rates of delinquency suggest that the city child has more opportunities to get into trouble, lives in a community which has more legal and extrafamilial rules to violate, and stands a greater chance of having his behavior legally noticed. The rural offenders show a higher proportion of crimes against the person than do city offenders, while the latter have a higher proportion of crimes against property (except arson) than the former. These conditions reflect differences in the patterns of the sociolegal culture of urban and rural life.

THE COMPANIONSHIP FACTOR

In our society, boys run in gangs and neighborhood play groups as soon as they get release from the apron strings. Thrasher[5] has

[5] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang; A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

pointed out that the gang is a very potent factor in delinquency, especially in the interstitial neighborhoods of the city. The activity patterns of a gang bring the boy into conflict with the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and family order of our society. For certain classes of urban boys the gang order continues in their lives from early youth through adolescence into adulthood in an almost unbroken sequence. Further sociological studies need to be made to indicate the extent to which gang life reaches all boys in the urban neighborhoods in which gangs seem to be so prevalent. Such studies might throw light on what happens to boys, as far as delinquency is concerned, who do not participate in gangs or who belong to gangs whose activity patterns are not at such variance with the dominant legal and moral order.

Shaw and McKay[6] have called attention to the fact that delinquency of urban boys is in the great majority of instances group activity—the activity of a twosome, a threesome, a foursome. Lone-wolf offenders in the Chicago juvenile-court cases constitute only eighteen to twenty-six per cent of the total delinquent-boy sample. Isolating the stealing offenses, Shaw and McKay found that the lone offenders constituted even a smaller minority—eleven per cent. Further studies of the companionship factor in boy delinquency should indicate whether lone-wolf offenders become more prevalent or less prevalent as age increases and how much the rate of lone offenders varies for boys of different income, racial, and nationality levels of the population.

DELINQUENCY AREAS AS A LOCUS OF PATTERNING

By use of spot maps, area and zone-rate maps, and gradients, Shaw and associates[7] have shown that official delinquency is highest

[6] Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "The Causes of Crime," *National Commission of Law Enforcement and Observance*, II: 13, pp. 191–199.
[7] Clifford R. Shaw, *et al.*, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929); Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–188.

in the near central urban neighborhoods and decreases in the decentralized areas. The central zone of highest delinquency rates were found to be areas of declining population, physical deterioration, great mobility, family dependency, and underworlds of crime and vice. The areas of low delinquency rates were found to be neighborhoods of well-ordered family and community life, capable of controlling their children. The areas of highest delinquency rates are just those where it is most difficult to pattern the behavior of children according to the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and moral order of our society. Landesco[8] has pointed out that in just such areas the social institutions of the dominant moral order fail to reach the children who are exposed to the patterns of the more alluring criminal tradition.

The areas of high delinquency therefore are the locus for a criminal and gang culture is not only at odds with the dominant order but also to a large extent beyond its control. It is here that the child finds patterning incident to the culture complexes of fixing, racketeering, political corruption, fences, confidence games, criminal codes, criminal practices, and underworlds of vice.

INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE AND PATTERNING

Another unpremeditated locus for criminal patterning is found in reformatory and correctional schools. According to the Thomases,[9]

> As adults we have a naïve way of thinking of influence as transmitted from the older generation to the younger, and we appreciate the point that it is horrible practice to place young children with old criminals, while influence seems to spread more rapidly laterally, as between members of a younger generation, than vertically, as between members of different generations. The congregation of bad

[8] John Landesco, "Crime and the Failure of Institutions in Chicago's Immigrant Areas," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIII: 2 (1932–1933), pp. 238–248.
[9] William I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), p. 96.

boys in juvenile homes and reformatories has had unexpectedly bad consequences. Young boys seem to be influenced toward bad behavior more positively by the tough boys under sixteen in detention homes than by the old criminals in jail.

The detailed life histories of delinquent boys, published by Shaw,[10] give ample illustration of how criminal attitudes, technique, code, pernicious habits are transmitted in the *sub rosa* life of boy inmates as well as how antisocial grudges generate as a reaction to imposed authority and discipline. A master's study by Moorer,[11] who was a participant observer in a boy's reformatory, gives abundant proof, from observational, interview, and life-history materials, of the existence of a *sub rosa* delinquent culture among boy inmates. Among many citations, I was impressed by the fact that the inmates in this institution exchange locks which they learn to pick in their undercover spare time and that most boys learn to pick the available locks very soon after admission.

OTHER SOURCES OF DELINQUENCY PATTERNING

Still another unintended source of criminal patterning comes from the movies. A recent sociological study of the effect of movies on delinquency and crime by Blumer and Hauser,[12] using life history, interview, and questionnaire material from several classes of offenders, revealed that "motion pictures were a factor in delinquent careers of about ten per cent of the male and twenty-five per cent of the female offenders studied." This is a gauge of direct influence, since the subjects claimed they were motivated by film content or cited instances where they enacted behavior patterns wit-

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[10] Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller, op. cit.;* with M. E. Moore, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931).

[11] Sam Moorer, "The Reformatory as an Educational Institution," master of arts thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1935.

[12] Herbert Blumer and Phillip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency and Crime* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934).

nessed on the screen. The subtle and indirect influence of movies came to the subjects in the form of display of criminal practices, arousing desires for easy money and an easy life, inducing a spirit of bravado, glorifying criminal roles, and stimulating sex desires.

Sutherland[13] has made the point that the patterns of conduct from what he calls public culture, derived from sports, politics, underworlds, movies, newspapers, and radio, are more accessible to certain groups of children in cities than the patterns of private culture which we have elsewhere called the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and family order. The former patterns, which conflict with the latter standards, lead to delinquency.

IMPACT OF AMERICAN PATTERNS

Pauline Young[14] was able to gauge the effect of the impact of American patterns of life on the conduct of boys in a Russian religious sect of Los Angeles (the Molokans). She found that the oldest group of Molokan boys, all born in Russia and still largely integrated into the tradition of their fathers, were the least delinquent. The youngest group of boys, all born in America, showed the highest rate of delinquency (several times higher than their older brothers), since they had broken through the weakening controls of sect life and had gone American or Hollywood in patterns of behavior. The demoralization of this class of boys was therefore incident to the impact of American public life on behavior.

Beynon[15] in a study of Hungarian boys in Detroit indicated that they usually begin by taking coal for their families from railroad property, which behavior harks back to a practice, transferred from the old country, according to which peasant children and members

[13] Edwin H. Sutherland, "Social Process in Behavior Problems," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVI: 3 (1932), pp. 55–61.
[14] Pauline V. Young, "Urbanization as a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV: 2 (1930), pp. 162–166.
[15] Erdmann D. Beynon, "Crime and Custom of the Hungarians in Detroit," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXV: 5 (1934–1935), pp. 755–774.

of peasant families gathered firewood from the nobleman's estate. When Hungarian boys are caught and taken to court, a new moral and legal definition of their behavior is made. Once defined as delinquent and once having gone through the mill, the Hungarian boys in Detroit are likely to continue their delinquencies. They graduate next into stealing coal for sale to others—not for family use. This introduces the individual mercenary motive into behavior that was not there before. Then they are apt to steal valuables other than coal from railroad property. Then they turn to stealing money from their own homes under the external individualistic, mercenary pressures of American life. Then they prey on the homes of other members of the colony. By this time I should imagine they are ready for graduation from the colony. Here again there is evidence of a sequence in behavior patterning incident to the development of delinquent careers. This sequence of course needs to be validated for class levels and culture groups in America as well as for children of majority and minority groups in other parts of the world.

DELINQUENCY AS A FUNCTION OF THE SOCIOLEGAL CULTURE

The cultural or sociological factor is present in programs dealing with delinquent children. Juvenile-court statistics indicate great variations in court policy throughout the United States. For example, courts in certain cities will handle most of their cases officially, no matter how petty. Other courts deal with them unofficially in varying proportions.

The use of probation as a form of disposition and follow-up supervision, like the distinction between official and unofficial cases, ushered in a new definition of delinquency. The attempt to handle first offenders on probation and to delay committing second and third offenders means a changed definition of delinquent behavior as against the general use of fines and commitments years ago.

The whole juvenile-court movement was posited on an attempt

to define and treat the juvenile offender in a different way than the offender was considered and dealt with in criminal courts. The advanced modes of juvenile-court practice have not invaded the rural and small-town counties in America to any great extent. For example, a rural child in Tennessee is likely to get a commitment to the reformatory for one year or for the period of his minority for his first official chicken stealing, whereas a Memphis boy may only receive an indefinite sentence (a year or two) after his third attempt to steal an automobile.

A concrete instance may serve to show the part which prevailing community definitions of conduct may play in creating the problem of delinquency. In a tenant-farm cotton county of West Tennessee a school teacher called the sheriff to take charge of a knifing case—a boy had drawn a knife on another boy at school. The official let it be known that this was nothing for which a boy should be taken to court. But in this same county boys are committed to the reformatory for chicken stealing. The assailant is not delinquent. The chicken thieves are.

I am impressed with what may happen in a small town and diversified agricultural county not far from Nashville. In looking over the docket of the county court, there are only a handful of cases of juvenile delinquency recorded thereon. Heretofore cases have been recorded only when a commitment was made. The bulk of juvenile infractions are settled by the families themselves or by the judge and the families informally without any record or official disposition. Into this easygoing county has recently been introduced a psychiatric child-study program. One of the first moves of this program was to have doctors, ministers, teachers, and other key persons report all the behavior cases they saw or heard about in their daily routines. Outsiders, in the form of psychiatrists and social workers with advanced standards as to what constitutes a behavior problem, came into the situation and made the community leaders

conscious of problems around them they never paid much attention to before. If a thoroughgoing mental-hygiene program is finally instituted, reaching into schools, churches, families, and courts, it will have the effect of enormously increasing delinquency. For behavior of children handled in the old way becomes problem behavior to report and handle in the new way. I am not suggesting that the program and the new order should not be introduced, although this should be given serious consideration, but I mean to convey the point that delinquency is a function of the patterns of the sociolegal culture of a community, indigenous or borrowed.

In line with the variations in community and court definitions of criminal and delinquent behavior, we need to examine in greater detail the effect of the redefinitions of crimes and delinquencies in countries like Russia, Italy, and Germany. We need also to examine the situation in several other parts of the world where the sociolegal culture differs so greatly from our own. How does a child become delinquent in Russia, in Ireland, in Persia, in China within the prevailing patterning processes and legal framework? To what extent does the age curve of delinquency differ from that in the United States? To what extent are there similarities in the process of maturing criminal careers?

TREATMENT AND PREVENTION AS COUNTER-PATTERNING

From the standpoint of child development we need to view correctional and preventive programs in terms of the imposition of the patterns of the dominant moral and legal order on children. That the imposition has not been very successful is becoming increasingly clear. Grave doubts are being cast on the validity of reformatory programs at the present time. Thrasher[18] in his study of the boys' club in one area of New York City found that the program, al-

[18] Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLII: 1 (1936), pp. 66–80.

though well intended, did not reach very far, did not give adequate coverage on delinquent boys, and was not an important factor in reducing delinquency in the area.

The recent symposium on *Preventing Crime* by the Gluecks[17] contains many concrete samples of programs designed to reach delinquent and potentially delinquent children. The "area project" in Chicago, directed by Shaw, is an attempt to understand how to establish a preventive program in an area of high delinquency risk—in an area where delinquency patterning is rampant. What sort of counter-patterning processes can be introduced and can be made to take? This should become clear when Shaw reports on his experiment.

Besides a better gearing of programs to reach delinquent children and to set up counter-patterning processes, what preventive work seems to need is guidance from delinquency-prediction studies. Sociologists have made considerable progress in developing methods to predict success or failure on parole and in marriage.[18] These methods could be applied to predicting the risk of certain levels and classes of children for becoming delinquent and continuing in delinquencies until they have graduated into crime as a profession. With actuarial tables before us, it would be a much easier matter to indicate just at what points in the patterning process it is best to apply counter-patterning.

A final point in conclusion. The focus of attention on delinquency as a patterning process in child development in the family, the play-

[17] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime; A Symposium* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936).

[18] E. W. Burgess in Bruce, Harno, *et al.*, *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence*, State of Illinois, Springfield, 1928, pp. 205–249; E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, "The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1 (1936), pp. 737–751; L. S. Cottrell, "The Reliability and Validity of a Marriage Schedule," doctor of philosophy thesis, University of Chicago, 1933; Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930); Elio D. Monachesi, *Prediction Factors in Probation* (Hanover, N. H.: Sociological Press, 1932); Clark Tibbitts, "Success or Failure on Parole Can Be Predicted," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXII: 1 (1931–1932), pp. 11–50; George B. Vold, *Prediction Methods and Parole* (Hanover, N. H.: Sociological Press, 1931).

group, and the neighborhood bids fair to give more control over the problem than the search for general causes or causes in individual cases. If the process of delinquency patterning and maturation of delinquent careers can be validated, we have a frontal, unilinear attack rather than a diffuse attack on multifarious and varying causes. The patterning process is something tangible—something which could be photographed. Causes are anybody's game—anybody's speculation. Technologically we can deal with a process, allay the process, set up a counter process (as in the case of serums) before and even without complete knowledge of complicated and multiple causation.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS
IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Because of the interest in the field of research techniques the following article is included instead of the usual material of this department.

Tests for Delinquency

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Modern efforts to differentiate objectively between delinquents and nondelinquents began in 1912 when Guy C. Fernald (10)[1] asked reformatory inmates to stand tiptoe until overcome by fatigue. Since then, many experimenters have constructed tests and other measures for delinquency. These tests may have several purposes: (a) to find potentially delinquent boys before actual trouble arises so that preventive measures may be started in time; (b) to provide material for use in treatment; (c) to measure the results of treatment. The purpose of this article is to review some of the tests in order to provide a source of ready reference for those who are working in the field. This review will include some of the group tests and test batteries constructed originally for one of these purposes.

One method used in testing delinquents is to ask them to confess certain symptoms, weaknesses, or habits on a questionnaire or inventory, as

Are you afraid of water?	*Yes*	*No*
		Mathews (19)
Do you sometimes wish you had never been born?	*Yes*	*No*
		Cavan (6)
Did you ever tell a lie?		Washburne (31)
This child is very much afraid of mother		Pintner, *et al*. (22)
Are you usually on time?	*Yes*	*No*
		Loofbourow-Keys (18)

Eating
 a) Usually hurry
 b) Eat very fast
 c) Eat slowly   Baker (1, *see also* 2)
Do you like to have people feel that you are
   important?   *Yes*   *No*
                                     Moore (20)

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[1] *See* bibliography on page 510.

Closely related to the inventories but less dependent upon the insensitiveness, insagacity, honesty, or sincerity of the subject are the instruments for discovering the wishes and preferences of the delinquent or "problem boy," as

How many friends would you like to have?
a) ——none
b) ——one or two
c) ——a few good friends
d) ——many friends
e) ——hundreds of friends   Rogers (24)

Put in parentheses the number of the one thing you would like to do.
a) Go for a joy ride
b) See a good show
c) Shoot craps and win   Raubenheimer (23)

Do you prefer an automobile now or an auto and a million dollars a year from now?   Washburne (30)

Have teeth pulled.   (Hart (11)

Name three recent news items that have interested you.
                    Thomas (28)

Rank in order of preference.
a) sled   ——
b) dagger   ——
c) watch   ——
d) camera   ——
e) skates   ——   Hawthorne (12)

As editor, which of these would you put on page 1, 2, etc.
a) Factory-Made Homes Now the Rage   ——
b) Famous Writer Dies   ——
c) Banker Admits Theft   ——
d) Dog Chews Child's Face   ——
e) Mule Tries to Board Car   ——   Moore (20)

Which of these would you prefer to learn about in science?
To know how glass is made   ——
To learn the causes of skin diseases ——   Moore (20)

Related to these are the efforts to discover wishes, preferences, and interests by having the delinquent rate offenses or virtues, as

Brogan list of sixteen offenses	Weber (32)
Ten "wrong acts"	Raubenheimer (23)
Ten Commandments	Simpson (26)

Less direct methods include Voelker's trustworthiness tests (29) adapted for use with delinquents by Cady (4), Raubenheimer (23), Casselberry (5), Hill (13), Bathurst (3), and Loofbourow and Keys (18), as

(On a check list) Do you know who discovered America? ———
(Later) America was discovered by
   a) Drake———
   b) Columbus———
   c) Balboa———
   d) Cook———   Raubenheimer (23)

Put an X in front of each word you know.
   ———perceive
   ———restore
   ———grole
   ———luxury
   ———rettle   Loofbourow and Keys (18)

An association test was used by Laslett (15) who presented words including *steel, forge, queer, big, safe* on flash cards and instructed the child to put down the first word that came to mind. The association of *steel* with theft was considered a delinquent response. Other indirect methods included the use of slang by Schwesinger (25), questions organized around the seven cardinal principles of education by Lewerenz and Steinmetz (17), play information by Murray (21), incongruity of drawings by Hinrichs (14), and disguised preferences by Moore (20).

Some investigators have attempted to differentiate between delinquents and nondelinquents by batteries or combinations of tests. Among these were Fernald (10), Cady (4), Raubenheimer (23), Cushing and Ruch (8) (girls), Courthial (7) (girls), Daniel (9) (Negroes), Lentz (16), Casselberry (5), Loofbourow and Keys (18), Symonds and Jackson (27), and Moore (20).

The attempts to measure potential conduct by verbal tests often rested upon certain assumptions; namely, potential and actual conduct is highly

correlated with mental life; mental life exists in the form of words and symbols; these elements can be expressed directly or indirectly; a test situation can secure these expressions. The connection between test words and conduct cannot be known to exist for any test until demonstrated. The methods, which have generally been used for establishing this proof or for validating the assumptions, are:

1. Theoretical validity or square root of the reliability. The test is assumed to measure the trait, attitude, knowledge, or conduct inferred from the content of the test questions.

2. Correlations with other tests. The extent to which the test agrees with other previously validated instruments is determined.

3. Correlation with ratings. The relationship is found between the subjects' test scores and judges' estimates of their character, personality, and conduct.

4. Comparison with findings of case studies. Although it is somewhat similar to and less objective than comparisons with ratings, it is more thorough.

5. Comparisons with selections by the nomination method. This procedure differs from the rating method in having the children choose those classmates outstanding in a trait or mode of conduct.

6. Test score differences between two groups known to differ in conduct. For example, a delinquency test is given to nondelinquent and delinquent groups; the significance of the difference in scores is determined by the critical ratio or bi-serial r.

7. Test score differences between more than two groups. This is an extension of the preceding method. For example, differences may be noted among boys from a relatively delinquency-free area, boys from a delinquency area, boys from a day school for behavior problems, and boys from juvenile correctional institutions (20). Raubenheimer had groups representing the most and least stable from privileged and underprivileged areas, special school boys and delinquents (23).

8. Differences in test scores among individuals whose conduct is known. The discriminations are not only among groups but also among individuals (20) (22).

These validating procedures often have been unable to overcome the insecurity of the assumptions according to which the tests were constructed. The criticism that the words or symbols recorded by the pupil are not due to the attitudes or conduct thought to be measured may persist. This has been true especially of the inventories and questionnaires.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, edited by MARGARET MEAD. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, 531 pages.

The studies of thirteen primitive peoples reported in this volume are an earnest effort to present a comprehensive analysis of the total life of each group as a basis for an evaluation of the factors which make for competitive, coöperative, and individualistic societies. Although the editor in her excellent "interpretive statement" carefully guards against too finalistic interpretation of the data, it is interesting to note that the degree of coöperation seemed to have no relationship to the physical environment nor technological development and that "all the competitive societies depend upon the initiative of the individual . . . while in the coöperative societies life goes on in response to a structural form."

With all that is written about "The Middle Way" this book makes a significant contribution through its impartial analysis of elemental social processes.

The Study of International Relations in the United States, edited by EDITH E. WARE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, 503 pages.

The key to the content of this excellent and authoritative volume is in the first word of the title; it is not a study of our international relations but a compilation of the purposes and programs of the many organizations in the United States fostering the study of international relations. When thus compiled it presents an impressive picture and leads the reader to hope that America may yet be a dominant force in maintaining world peace, not by participation in the League, but by organized and aroused public opinion.

A Bibliographical Introduction to Nationalism, by KOPPEL S. PINSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, 71 pages.

An excellent bibliography containing references to four hundred thirty-one books published in English, German, or French. It is a comprehensive summary of postwar literature in this field, well classified and carefully annotated. Invaluable to students of nationalism.